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justice, and justice is always a greater power than mere executive force.

The Supreme Court of the United States enforces its judgment in controversies between states, and they are obeyed without the aid of the President or his "Big Stick" [laughter and applause]. We hope, therefore, that the Hague Conference will establish a permanent tribunal of arbitration, where the great principles of international justice may be declared and administered for the benefit of mankind. With a permanent parliamentary body authorized to enlarge and amend the law of nations, a tribunal empowered to determine certain controversies between nations, the crushing weight of war will pass away and the Prince of Peace stand on the mountain top with a face radiant with celestial light.

## The Purposes of the Hague Conference.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY MR. NELIDOFF, RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE.

*Opening Address as President, June 15, 1907.*

Allow me in the first place to perform the pleasing duty of expressing to you my deep gratitude at the honor which you have done me in agreeing to confide to me the direction of our labors. I well know that in graciously accepting the kind and flattering proposal of the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs it was your intention to pay homage to the sovereign whom I have the honor to represent, to whose initiative the Peace Conferences are due, and to whom His Excellency M. van Tets has just alluded in terms that have deeply touched me. You also doubtless wished by your acquiescence to perform an act of deference towards the distinguished statesman who directs the foreign policy of The Netherlands, and whom I have the honor to number among my very old colleagues and friends. I believe, therefore, that I shall be responding to your unanimous sentiment in requesting Mr. van Tets to preserve his connection with the Conference by accepting the title of honorary president. I also propose to offer the vice-presidency of the Conference to the first Netherlands delegate, M. de Beaufort, during whose term of office as Minister for Foreign Affairs the first Conference in 1899 was held.

As to myself, it is not necessary to assure you that I shall do everything in my power to direct our labors in a manner calculated to render them as fruitful as possible. With this object in view, I shall always endeavor to preserve harmony among us in seeking points of contact and avoiding anything that may give rise to too marked divergences of opinion. I hope to be able to count upon your kindly coöperation and amiable indulgence to second the goodwill which I shall bring to my task.

But we have first of all to accomplish a respectful duty towards the most gracious sovereign of the country which offers us such a large measure of hospitality. I therefore ask you to authorize me, in the name of the Conference, to send the following telegram to the Queen of The Netherlands :

"The representatives of the forty-seven states assembled at The Hague for the second Peace Conference have the honor to lay at the feet of your Majesty the expression of their gratitude at the gracious welcome extended to them in the capital, and the homage of their respectful devotion."

In assuming the functions with which you have just

entrusted me, I believe it will not be necessary, after the eloquent words you have heard from the mouth of the Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs, to recall the circumstances which have led up to this second Peace Conference, or allude to the share taken in its convocation by the eminent chief of the great North American Confederation, whose generous impulses are always inspired by the most noble sentiments of justice and humanity. In seeing gathered here in one assembly the representatives of nearly every constituted state, I cannot but feel deeply moved. It is the first time that such a meeting has been held. It is a desire for peace that has led the different governments to send their most eminent men from all parts of the globe to discuss in common the most cherished interests of humanity, namely, conciliation and justice. May I venture to draw from this a happy augury for the progress of our labors, and express the hope that the spirit of harmony which has animated the various governments will also reign among their representatives, and thus contribute to the successful completion of the task which devolves upon us?

This task, as set forth in the program of the Conference accepted by all the powers, is divided into two parts. On the one hand, we have to seek a means of bringing about an amicable settlement of differences that may arise between different states and thus prevent ruptures and armed conflicts between them. On the other hand, we have to endeavor, in the event of war breaking out, to mitigate its onerous effects alike on the combatants as upon those indirectly affected.

These two problems may sometimes have appeared incompatible. During the war of secession in the United States, Professor Lieber drew up, I believe, instructions to the commanders of troops occupying hostile territory, and to the local authorities of the territory, with the object of lightening, for the benefit of both, the difficulties and responsibilities of that abnormal situation. I have heard the opinion expressed that it was an absolutely mistaken idea to seek to diminish the horrors of war. In order to ensure that wars shall be short and of rare occurrence, I am told, the nations engaged must be made to bear the whole burden thereof, so that they may be induced to put an end to hostilities at the earliest possible moment and be loath to recommence. This to me seems an absolutely specious opinion. The horrors of ancient struggles and of the wars of the Middle Ages neither diminished their duration nor their frequency, while the mitigation introduced during the second half of the past century into the conduct of wars, in the fate of prisoners and wounded,—in fact, all the series of humanitarian measures which do honor to the first Peace Conference and which must be completed by the work of the Conference which we are now inaugurating,—have in no way helped to develop a liking for war. On the contrary, they have spread throughout the whole civilized world a sentiment of international amity and have created a pacific current, which we feel in the manifestations of sympathy with which public opinion has welcomed, and will, I hope, accompany our labors. We shall therefore have to follow in this respect the path opened by our predecessors in 1899.

As to the other portion of our task, that which deals with the means of preventing and avoiding conflicts between states, it would seem useless to dwell on the

services already rendered to the cause of peace and justice by the institutions and decisions formed by the first Conference. The opinion has been expressed that the differences settled, as the result of the first Conference, have not exceeded in importance cases connected with international peace meet to be dealt with in a magistrate's court. Well, even magistrates render signal services to order and public tranquillity. They settle amicably private quarrels, and thereby contribute to maintain an atmosphere of peace between individuals by doing away with petty causes of irritation, which, by accumulating, often produces great hostility. The same is the case between nations. It is by preventing trivial friction in the relations of countries that the ground is prepared for an understanding when greater interests are at stake.

The solemn recognition of the principle of arbitration has already created among various states a disposition to have recourse to arbitration for the settlement of disputes, the limits of which always have a tendency to widen. Thus, since 1899, thirty-three [the exact number is forty-five — Ed.] arbitration conventions have been concluded between different states. But there is still more. Four grave and complicated questions, capable of creating friction between the powers, have been taken before the Hague Arbitration Court; and the Commission of Inquiry established by the Act of 1899 had to consider, as every one remembers, a case of infinite gravity, which might, without its happy intervention, have had the most dangerous consequences.

We can therefore look with respect upon the results of the activity of our predecessors at The Hague. They should act as an incentive to us to persevere in the work which they have done and to give it a larger development. All friends of civilization are following with sympathetic interest the progress of the international institutions resulting from the first Peace Conference, and a generous citizen of the United States has even given a fortune for the building here of a sumptuous palace in which these institutions will have their permanent headquarters. It is for us to make them worthy of this act of munificence, which would also be a means of showing our gratitude to Mr. Carnegie.

However, let us not be too ambitious. Let us not forget that our means of action are limited; that nations are living beings, just like the individuals composing them; that they have the same passions, aspirations, weaknesses, and impulses, and that if, in our daily life, courts of justice, in spite of the severity of the penalties with which they are armed, fail to prevent quarrels, brawls and fights between individuals, it will be the same between nations, although the progress of conciliation and the progressive softening of manners certainly ought to diminish the number of such cases.

Let us, above all, not forget that there is a whole class of questions in which the honor, dignity and essential interest of individuals as well as of nations are engaged, and in which neither party, whatever the consequences, will recognize any authority than that of its own judgment and personal sentiments. But that should not discourage us from dreaming of the ideal of universal peace and the fraternity of peoples, which are, after all, but the natural higher aspirations of the human soul. Is not the pursuit of an ideal, towards which we always strive without ever reaching it, the essential condition of all

progress? When once a tangible object has been attained the enthusiasm ceases, whereas for the progress of any enterprise it is necessary to have the constant stimulus of aiming at something higher. "Excelsior" is the motto of progress. Let us set bravely to work, our path lit up by the bright star of universal peace, which we shall never reach, but which will always guide us for the good of humanity, for whatever within the modest limits of our means we can do for individuals by lightening the burdens of war, and for states by preventing conflicts, will entitle the governments which we represent to the gratitude of humanity.

## The Present Status of the International Arbitration Movement.

BY BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD.

*Address at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, May 22.*

It is only twelve years since the first Arbitration Conference met here at Mohonk. And what marvelous years they have been! This Conference has developed from a body of three-score members who were doubtful and timid to a body of fifteen score persons who gather in a spirit of exultation over the past and confidence for the future. During these years the Interparliamentary Union has grown from a tentative association of a few hundred members of parliament to a powerful organization of over two thousand statesmen, which commands the respect and close attention of the world. Numerous other peace organizations, some of them older, some of them younger, have developed in the same extraordinary way. Governments themselves and kings and presidents have changed their attitude almost entirely toward the movement for international peace. The settlements of international controversies by arbitration have increased in this brief period nearly a hundredfold, until the principle of arbitration is now a well-recognized part of international law and practice. The Hague Conference has been held, the permanent international court established and successfully inaugurated. Treaties of arbitration, for which we were contending in the first years of this Conference, have been concluded to the number of more than forty, binding all the nations of Western Europe and some of those of South America into a pact of peace not likely soon to be broken.

A second Intergovernmental Peace Conference has been called on the initiative of our government, and is to assemble at The Hague next month with representatives from all the organized governments of the globe. During this same period two Pan-American Conferences have been held, which have resulted not only in greatly promoting the arbitration movement, but in the organization of a permanent International Union of the American Republics. Such progress in the short space of twelve years in any line of human advancement is unparalleled in the history of the world.

But the movement in whose behalf we have gathered again in this fifteenth Mohonk Conference, because of its extraordinary growth, has reached a stage of very peculiar interest. It can hardly be called a critical stage, though it contains features which may well fix the closest attention and even awaken the solicitude of all those who labor and watch for the permanent peace of the world.

The movement, in some features of it, seems to have reached a practical standstill. Only one additional